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## SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF THE SPECTATOR<sup>1</sup>

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The task set me tonight is born of the scientific faith which even the newest of the disciplines has inspired. Social psychology, at first in danger of rejection by the builders of "orthodox psychology," seems destined to become the "head of the corner" in the new temple of social education. Great and beneficent has been the rôle in pedagogy of so-called "individual" psychology as an experimental science. Through the study of child-psychology, in particular—from Comenius to Rousseau and Froebel, from Pestalozzi and Herbart to G. Stanley Hall and his disciples—educational method has been vitalized, humanized, and inspired. Yet, how very much of the most fruitful of this long process of "psychologizing education"—as Pestalozzi called it—is in reality but an application of "social psychology," even before the name was born.

### WHAT IS SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY?

Moreover, there is good reason to believe that through the conscious and organized use of the laws of the "social mind" as opposed to the "individual mind"—though possibly each of these useful terms when rigorously analyzed may prove to be but a vivid metaphor—education is about to win its crowning victory, to exploit its widest and richest domain—a domain until very recently unbroken save perchance almost unawares by the adventurous pathfinder. Just as sociology, in the few years since it gained the method and the organization of a science, has immensely widened our horizon and increased our power for conscious mastery of the environment, notably the human environment; so the rise of social psychology as a specialized division of sociology has much broadened the vision, sharpened the insight, and intensified the power of the sociologist.

<sup>1</sup> A paper read at the Conference on Physical Education and Hygiene, Chicago, April 26, 1912.

Among teachers of experience the conviction is deepening that social psychology is by far the most practical, the most fruitful, division of sociological science. Social psychology is applied sociology at its best.

In this presence, I take it, there is no need of formal definitions. Social mind, social consciousness, inter-mental phenomena: these and similar terms convey a practical meaning sufficiently well understood. Do they not predicate a precious human faculty which if wisely controlled may tend ever to lift civilization to higher and yet higher planes of social well-being? They imply a social-psychic life which transcends that of the single personality.

It is the purpose of this paper to outline a new chapter in the history of that social-psychic life. It will consider: (1) the elements of spectator-psychology; (2) the spectator-crowd and the dramatic-spectacle; (3) the spectator-crowd and the athletic spectacle; (4) the problem of social control.

#### I. THE ELEMENTS OF SPECTATOR-PSYCHOLOGY

Social psychology considers the spectator in two situations: first as a separate personality; and second as a unit of the spectator-crowd. Each social personality—the child, the adolescent, the adult—may view a spectacle alone or as one in a mass or agglomeration of such personalities; and his psychic experience, the effect upon him, will not be the same in the second situation as in the first. A game of football, a drama, or a motion-picture, however stirring, would hardly carry the solitary spectator “off his feet.”

#### THE ABSOLUTE INDIVIDUAL IS A MYTH

Yet the stimulus of the spectacle and the emotional or motor response of the solitary spectator are mainly a social-psychic process. True, each human organism comes into the world with an ancestral heritage of elementary instincts, impulses, tendencies, or their surviving rudiments. Who shall dare to say how much of this heritage, through the processes of selection and assimilation, is not of social origin, due to the interaction of human minds? Is man naturally a social animal? The last affirmative answer to this much argued question is Dr. Trotter's enlightening discussion of an original human “herd-instinct and its bearing on the psychology of civil-

ized man." In fact the isolated or absolute individual is a myth. The more keenly we scrutinize the genesis of personality the more the purely individual factors—if there be such—shrink in the vanishing perspective of human evolution. In the spectator-crowd, as will presently appear, how very much of the relatively undisciplined social instincts or desires of forgotten generations wells up from the deep abyss of the unconscious or the subconscious.

In a word, it seems certain that the child inherits social feeling; that potentially it is born with the craving for companionship, sociability. It needs the stimulus of other personalities for the normal unfoldment of its own nascent mental faculty. Here is something larger, more generic than the struggle or gaming instinct, than even the play-impulse, though each of these is of vital import for spectator-psychology.

#### "THE DIALECTIC OF PERSONAL GROWTH"

Whatever doubt may still linger as to the pre-natal origin of social instinct or emotion, very little remains as to its post-natal history. More and more clearly mental growth appears as social growth, and social growth as mental growth. Almost from the first the child's consciousness is known to unfold as a composite personality. Either the new contents of the mind are apperceived, taken over from other personalities—from the social environment; or else they consist of the child's idea of the nature of other personalities, an idea inferred from his own feelings or emotions originally stimulated by such personalities. Here one recognizes the "dialectic of personal growth," the marvelous process of give-and-take in the expansion of the social consciousness of the human soul, which Professor Baldwin has so luminously disclosed.

#### SOCIAL PERSONALITY A PSYCHIC FACT

More recently Dr. Cooley has revealed society "in its immediate aspect" as simply a "relation among personal ideas"; for he demonstrates that the social person is a "psychic fact," a "group of sentiments attached to some symbol." *A group of sentiments*, mind you. Mark well the phrase for future use in gauging the emotional reactions of the spectator. For here is disclosed a basic principle in the spreading of ideals, in the contagion of virtues or vices, in

the epidemic of degrading or of uplifting suggestions. If for me another social person consists in my idea of his characteristics, tested by certain personal symbols stored in my mind as standards of spiritual values, ready to obey the call of associative memory, how very practical it is that through education these symbols be wisely selected. "To think of love, gratitude, pity, grief, honor, courage, justice, and the like," says Cooley in illustration of his theory, "it is necessary to think of people by whom or toward whom these sentiments may be entertained. Thus justice may be recalled by thinking of Washington, kindness by Lincoln, honor by Sir Philip Sidney."

#### ASSOCIATION OF RIGHT IDEAS BUILDS RIGHT CHARACTER

The present application is obvious. What if the symbols by which the youth learns to test personal merits be the traits or actions of his heroes or heroines of the stage, the classroom, the athletic field, or some other spectacle? Especially at puberty the boy or the girl lays in a rich store of ideals and heroes. It really seems as if the factors of such thought-processes are social products: images arising in emotional states under stimulus of new associations.

#### THE KIND OF IDEAS ASSOCIATED IN CONSCIOUSNESS DETERMINES THE KIND OF CHARACTER

Here is a "law" of social psychology which it will richly repay the teacher to exploit. How vivid, how enduring must be the motion-picture stamped on the film of associative memory, of consciousness, under stress of the surging emotions that sway the joyous recreation-crowd.

#### A SPECTATOR IS A MINIATURE SOCIETY

Accordingly, as a net result of the foregoing analysis, the spectator appears, not as the wholly imaginary isolated being of conventional phrase, but as a composite social-psychic personality. In a vital sense, he is a miniature society; a veritable microcosm or epitome of the macrocosm—of the larger society which itself is a psychic fact.

#### THE SPECTATOR IS SWAYED BY EMOTION

Now, the spectator-personality is dominated by his feelings, by his emotions; and the emotions are the most powerful springs of

social action. Consider the vast number and variety of the instincts, appetites, cravings, impulses, sentiments, tendencies, beliefs, and ideals which surge, contend, or blend in the theater of the spectator's emotional life.

A sound psychology of the emotions, therefore, is the basis upon which must be built the social psychology, and therefore the education, of the spectator.

#### THE SPECTATOR'S EMOTIONS ARE HIGHLY SUGGESTIBLE

To understand the nature of the emotions is the first requisite. The second requisite is to perceive how the emotions of the spectator are peculiarly exposed to the sway of suggestion—imitation. Decidedly the psychology of suggestion is a *sine qua non* for the solution of our problem. So great is its rôle in social life that a brilliant sociologist, Dr. Ross, accepting the fundamental teaching of Tarde, has virtually restricted the field of social psychology to the various aspects of suggestion—imitation. According to Tarde "society is imitation, and imitation is a species of somnambulism." Logically, therefore, he reduces all sociology to a study of the laws of imitation. Without going so far as that, Dr. Ross has devoted the whole of his fascinating book to the different phases of crowd- and mob-mind. Possibly he has not thus covered the entire proper field of social psychology—all the social-psychic phenomena of group-life. Nevertheless, by the very stress which he has laid on suggestion-imitation, crowd-psychology, he has rendered to education a unique service. Beyond reasonable question, this is the most fruitful field which the newer forms of education—perhaps also the older—have yet to exploit. It is a rich mine for almost every sort of social servant; the most practical study which the college student can take up. Already it has borne good fruit. The psychology of the mob, the criminal, the newspaper, race-prejudice, the gaming instinct, the religious revival, advertising, suggestion in education, is fairly well in hand. Shall the spectator next take his turn?

#### KINDS OF SPECTATOR

Who is the spectator? What are his varieties? "All the world's a spectacle and all the men and women merely spectators"

might truthfully paraphrase Shakespeare's epigram. Without making so wide an excursion, it is desirable swiftly to scan the wider range of our problem. When some competent pen shall write the systematic textbook for the social psychology of the spectator—a book for which the newer social education is calling loudly—it will deal with many examples or applications of the subject which may not here be mentioned, much less discussed. Sometimes it would analyze the emotions of the single spectator; sometimes those of the spectator-crowd; sometimes it would exploit spectator-crowd characteristics “without presence.”

For instance, it might emphasize the morals-debauching, ideals-debasing, thought-enfeebling, wholly degrading antisocial suggestions presented to the little children of a city by that commerce-begot monstrosity, the comic supplement.

It might reflect on the psychic meaning of that nerve-crazing, soul-sickening motion-picture of lying bill-boards which in merciless repetition pelt the traveler's tortured eye through the car-window as he speeds across the disfigured landscape. Is it too bold to suggest that the bodily and mental health, as often the moral integrity, of the traveling public is seriously impaired by this modern sacrifice of beauty and truth in the service of Mammon?

Take a more pleasing picture: the spectator-crowd of disciples, the school or college class of pupils, day after day gathered before the living teacher—the teacher in action. Is it not likely that the display of lofty emotion, of refined and exalted feelings, of the whole visible personality, of the worthy teacher possesses a rare contagious quality of social suggestion? The flashing eye, the eloquent voice, the forceful gesture, the scorn of falsehood and wrong or the reverence for truth and justice revealed on the mobile countenance: surely all this tends to plant in consciousness those higher ideals—those sentiments attached to personal symbols—which so essentially condition right social thought. I verily believe that the highest function of the teacher—even the university teacher—is to teach, and to teach with spiritual zeal.

Again, consider that “greatest fact in modern civilization,” the city. Here is a mass of closely communicating individuals, social psychic personalities, capable of crowd characteristics

“without presence.” They may display exaggerated suggestibility through mental contagion unaided by the bodily touch of the actual crowd. Now, a city is the mightiest of all spectacles, and as such it both reflects and molds the psychology of its people—its spectators. It makes a vast difference, for instance, whether the city be a thing of beauty or a thing of ugliness. The constant repetition of disagreeable feelings—literally poisonous feelings experts tell us—caused by foul streets, ragged skylines, unsightly poles, garish posters, straggling sidewalks, abominable garbage heaps, gaudy ginshops, nauseous smells, reeking dives of sin and shame—all the familiar emblems of the unregenerate city—must inevitably lower the vital and spiritual quality of an urban population. According to a well-known orthodox law of the emotions, I dare affirm that the transformation of the city ugly into the city beautiful would raise the level of the city’s health, morality, thought, and government.

## II. THE SPECTATOR-CROWD AND THE DRAMATIC SPECTACLE

Turning now to the spectator-crowd in its relation to the dramatic spectacle, selecting its chief varieties, it is important first of all, as a general law, to accent the reciprocal relation of the spectator and the spectacle. It is right, of course, to lay the chief stress on the influence of the spectator in creating the spectacle. Normally it is largely a case of demand and supply. The desires of the spectator determine the character of the spectacle. But this is not the whole story. The spectacle which the spectator molds, in its turn molds the spectator. The spectator is a being which feeds on its own offspring. Here is an endless circuit of give-and-take which as applied to the spectator-personality might be called the “dialectic of emotional growth.” Moreover, the reciprocal influence of the spectator and the spectacle in our days is not usually normal. The spectacle is commercialized. It is chiefly the asset of the business man—the entrepreneur. The exploiter of the human need of recreation provides what under all the conditions he thinks will pay. A large part of the theater-crowd is fortuitous. It comes from out of town. It takes what it can get, not always what it prefers. Perhaps here



is a hint which the social provider of recreation-spectacles may profit by.

Again, it must be held firmly in mind that we have to do with a species of crowd. As such it is amenable to the laws of crowd-psychology. Now, the result of bodily contagion in the spectator-crowd is greatly to increase the effects of "multiplied suggestion." Every emotion, every psychic manifestation, called out by the stimulating spectacle, is intensified. The emotional conductivity of the mass is very great. Nor must it be forgotten that pleasurable sensations or emotions, even if morbid, take the most enduring hold of the conscious or the subconscious self. They well up readily in associative memory. How vast, then, for good or ill, must be the emotional discharge in the theater-crowd. For almost every social situation, almost every moral crisis or mental conflict, almost every desire, passion, or ideal is presented to consciousness, accompanied by all the allurements of light, color, rhythm, or sound.

Furthermore, the wise exploiter of dramatic recreation must know the composition of the particular spectator-crowd to which he appeals. What may be safe, or moral, or effective in one crowd may be just the reverse in another; for suggestibility varies according to age, sex, race, bodily or mental state. Children, for example, are more easily excited than adults; women more conductible than men; what would excite tumultuous feeling in a crowd of Italians, Slavs, or Irish might "fall flat" in a crowd of Dutch, Germans, or English; what would be entirely safe in a crowd of well-fed burghers might breed a bloody riot in a mass of hungry and therefore hysterical revolutionists or strikers; a presentation which exalts the spirit of the cultured and refined may tend to release the subconscious beast in the ignorant, the degenerate, or the criminal. Sometimes under spell of the opera, the drama, or even the motion-picture, the "gash" in consciousness is so deep, the "mental disaggregation" so complete, the entire obsession of the mind by the momentary suggestion so profound, that the spectator is hypnotized. Even the prolonged contemplation of beautiful pictures or the sound of exquisite music, suggests Souriau, may produce an ecstasy of hallucination analogous to the hypnotic trance.

## WHY NOT CAPITALIZE CROWD-SUGGESTION FOR SOCIAL WELFARE?

## WHY MODERNS NEED PLAY

Clearly here is a tremendous power which calls loudly for social control. For ages the suggestibility of the spectator-crowd has been exploited for vicious, commercial, or other selfish ends. Why not capitalize it for the advancement of the social welfare? According to Dr. Watts's lyric, suggests Mr. Carrington, the "Devil appears to be the only sociologist who, in modern times, has given his mind to the subject" of recreations. Is it not time to choose a new director? Let the apostle of social righteousness break into Satan's monopoly. Commercialized recreation need not necessarily be bad, if wisely regulated; yet, as a matter of fact in the United States almost every form of dramatic spectacle has been put upon too low a plane, often a disgracefully low plane.

How serious is the danger to society, is partially realized when we count the vast throngs which regularly pack the play-houses. One Sunday evening three years ago, says Miss Addams, it was estimated that one-sixth of the entire population of Chicago went to the theaters. Each week in the borough of Manhattan, according to Dr. Davis, 1,760,088 persons attend the theaters, at a cost of \$567,793.10. If the same ratios obtain throughout the country, how mighty is the multitude whose characters are being molded by the theater. What prodigious sums are being spent, sometimes carelessly, often for antisocial ends.

According to the enlightening monograph of Dr. Michael M. Davis on the *Exploitation of Pleasure*, far too many of the theatrical representations in Manhattan are inferior in quality. Of the vaudevilles, three-fourths grade as "not objectionable," one-fifth as "lowering," and the rest as of "positive value." The vaudeville, he suggests, is in dire need of an application of brains. Of the high-priced performances, 16.5 per cent are "lowering," "demoralizing," or "vicious." Of the burlesques all are bad: five-sixths being graded as "demoralizing" and one-sixth as "lowering." In sharp contrast with these, the motion-picture shows, with their 900,000 weekly spectators, are none of them bad, half of the films being rated as of "positive value" and half as

"not objectionable." May we rightly infer from this fact that among the plain people the spectator-crowd, when given a fair chance, may be trusted to demand healthful recreation? Motion-pictures of the finest scenery, for example, will elicit a storm of spontaneous applause from a crowd of young children.

In fact, we owe to mob-mind in large measure the present low standard of dramatic recreation in our country. It is high time to give up the notion that only the bad is "catching." Even more contagious are the good, the beautiful, and the true.

The intense dramatic instinct of children is a precious faculty; and it may be educated for rare social service. When we learn to educate it rightly, perhaps the dramatic recreations of America may not contrast so unfavorably with the elevating tragedies, comedies, and festivals of ancient Hellas.

### III. THE SPECTATOR-CROWD AND THE ATHLETIC SPECTACLE

We may now pass to a consideration of the spectator-crowd in connection with athletics. At the very outset, it seems wise to confess that social education is much more deeply concerned in the extension and organization of play than in athletic contests, either amateur or professional. Play is the sovereign re-creator. Play is necessary for work. It restores the tissues consumed or weakened by toil. This it is able to do through the magical process of nature's emotion-cure. Modern psychology reveals the subtle blending or interdependence of mental states and bodily states. The mind heals the body and the body heals the mind. Pleasurable emotions build up, increase energy; disagreeable emotions tear down, diminish energy. According to Ribot and Feré, the emotion of pleasure is a feeling of power; that of displeasure is a feeling of impotence. Fatigue is a poison that impairs the moral judgment. Play through exciting joyous emotion restores the capacity for straight thinking. Thus play is a safe keeper of a clear conscience; and its beneficent function is best discharged when taken for its own sake—with no other prize in view. "The kind of exercise that hits the mark," says Gulick in his luminous picture of the *Efficient Life* "is the kind a man likes for its own sake."

## WHY MODERNS NEED PLAY

How shall the ideal living here suggested be realized? If play be the essential condition of sound physical, mental, and moral health, how may people be led to play? For strangely enough they must be lured even to participation in the rare joys which recreative exercise yields in such full measure. This paradox comes from two crises in human evolution: the first physiological and the second industrial. Man separates himself from the other animals and stands erect. But, to quote Partridge, his "internal organs, the skeleton, and muscles are still 'four-footed.' The veins and other structures often suffer from doing work for which their construction is not suited." In the ceaseless struggle for existence, the active outdoor life of early man was his salvation.

Then came the second crisis. Gradually civilization with its countless labor-saving devices tended to make man sedentary. The industrial revolution of a century ago completed the harmful process. Steam and electricity, with their creature, the great city, have nearly banished the old popular, largely communal play-activities and provided new allurements for indoor pleasures.

Clearly the social welfare calls loudly for a remedy: a reorganization of play-activities to meet the new conditions of work and leisure.

It is equally clear that the athletic spectacle is not the remedy. Gymnastic exercise for all, as a part of sane physical culture, is quite another thing. The spectator-crowd at an athletic contest—a football game, a game of baseball, a wrestling or a boxing match, a Marathon race—is essentially a theater-crowd, except that often it sits in the open air. The members of the spectacle are the only persons who exercise; and their exercise is not play but work, often for hire.

## MOB-MIND OF THE ATHLETIC SPECTATOR

In basic principle, the psychology of the athletic spectator-crowd is the same as that already presented. It is crowd-psychology. Suggestibility is higher, contagion swifter, emotion more tumultuous, the range of suggested ideas or actions narrower, than in the dramatic crowd. The subconscious self of the spectator emerges; the elemental gaming or struggle-instinct of the

human animal—so vividly described a decade ago by Dr. Thomas—slips its leash, and the spectator thrills with emotional reaction to the athlete's muscular experiences.

Who of us has not shared in the hypnotic frenzy, the mob-hysteria, of the "bleachers" if not of the "grand-stand"?

It is because actions are more "catching," more readily imitated than words, that public exhibitions or even suggestions of physical contests by newspaper, in the theater, or on the field, may prove dangerous, especially to children and adolescents. Happily the more brutal forms of contests are being proscribed. Bear-baiting, bull-baiting, cock-fighting, and prize-fighting are passing. Is there not need of going farther? Do not humanism and the gospel of peace demand that exhibitions of boxing, wrestling, and other spectacles suggesting hurt, cruelty, brute-force, or war be abandoned? Yet in my own town a few weeks ago was presented a motion-picture of a bull-fight, before a crowd including hundreds of school children.

Do not misunderstand me. I am not opposing athletic spectacles as such. There need be no great harm, possibly there is sometimes much good, even in professional athletics like tennis, rowing, or baseball, although the professional standard always tends to be low. I am merely pleading for the right sort of contests. I am simply warning against the danger that such contests may draw us more and more away from the real play-activities which are far more essential to the public health and morals under modern conditions.

#### ATHLETIC CONTESTS ARE DEMOCRATIC

There is a social gain from the emotions that sway the athletic spectator-crowd which offsets some of the losses. Psychologically, for instance, the great American game of baseball is a powerful democratic agent. Vast crowds of both sexes and of all ages; persons of every economic, social, religious, or intellectual class touch shoulders. They shout, thrill, and gesture in sympathy. They are just human beings, with the differentials of rank or vocation laid aside. They are "deindividuated," to borrow the expressive term coined by Partridge.

## TEAM-CONTESTS ARE VICARIOUS PLAY

The chief menace to the general use of recreational activities comes from the extraordinary vogue of college athletic spectacles. The primary business of the student is or ought to be study. Necessarily he is inactive during a third or more of the day. There is plenty of time left over for restful recreative exercise, if it be made use of. But the student cannot keep his bodily and mental energy up to the mark by exercising vicariously. The vicarious play of the team, however fascinating, does not exercise the spectator's muscles. It is imperative that college authorities recognize the function of recreation. At whatever sacrifice of team-athletics, at whatever cost for facilities, every student should be physically as well as mentally educated; and the most efficient mental, even moral, education depends on physical education. Moreover, play for all is the best form of educational recreation.

## INTERCOLLEGIATE CONTESTS A MENACE

Let us get nearer to the heart of the problem. Its crux lies in the distinctive features of intercollegiate sports. As now conducted, such sports are a menace to American higher education; and it seems probable that the only efficient remedy is their entire abandonment.

Because of their enormous prestige, the saner forms of recreational play are crowded out and the intellectual activities and achievements are overshadowed. The football champion is a hero although sometimes his superior qualities can be appraised only by the pound. The contests become battles between opposing institutions; and in popular sentiment the relative rank of such institutions is gauged by victory or defeat.

## EVILS OF ATHLETIC PARTISANSHIP

From these conditions arise certain psychic traits of the academic athletic crowd. They center in its extreme partisanship. The moral tone of the emotions is lowered. The finer appreciation of feelings and actions, notably those of the adversary, are suppressed. Violent shouts and epithets give notice that the cave-man is up. Victory must be had. Accordingly semi-

professionalism has arisen; and, in spite of repeated regulation, it is still widely tolerated. Now, semi-professionalism, even when consisting in earning a penny in the local summer baseball league, is a blight on amateur competition. It narrows the range of eligibles to the team; it discourages the mediocre and the timid from seeking a share in such games. There is urgent need that Dr. Hetherington's two laws—the "law of competition" and the "law of amateurism" shall be enforced to the letter. Let not college sports be tainted by commercialism which semi-professionalism implies.

Under existing conditions the spectator-crowd at an intercollegiate football contest fosters ideals much lower than those suggested by a game of professional baseball.

#### FUTILITY AND IMMORALITY OF THE ATHLETIC CLAQUE

A singular example of mental perversion, an absurd and immoral custom tenaciously held fast in mob-mind, has its genesis in the partisan zeal of athletic spectator-crowds. I refer to the practice of organized cheering, known in college argot as "rooting." From every aspect it is bad. It robs the athlete of his due meed of honest praise. The spontaneous burst of emotion is discounted by the artificial clamor. At best, it must be rated as a cunning suggestion intended to start contagious and irrational applause in the hypnotized mass of on-lookers. It is a trap for the emotions of the unwary. Morally it stands on the level of the jimmy, the "toe-hold," the card trick, the stuffed ballot box, tainted news, or the campaign canard; and like the canard it is apt to prove a "boomerang." In a word, it is the claque in athletics; and as such it is precisely on a level with the claque in a Paris theater. It reaches the limit of inept perversity, when, as sometimes actually happens, it is used as a jimmy to unlock the emotions of the audience at an intercollegiate debate.

Who can justly doubt that the partisan spirit or "emotional set" fostered during the school and college years is a powerful subconscious support of American partisan politics? It is a seminar in which the athletic claque-leader is in training for the shady tricks of the "ward-heeler" or the "city-boss."

## IV. THE PROBLEM OF SOCIAL CONTROL

The foregoing discussion may perhaps serve as a tentative appreciation of the social value of spectator psychology. Here ends my allotted task. Yet may I venture a concluding word as to the social control of this neglected aspect of crowd-mind?

1. There must be fostered a powerful sentiment in favor of the public support of all proper forms of the newer recreational education. By Nature's law recreative pleasures are essential to sound body, sound mind, sound character, and sound social living. Why longer suffer them to be monopolized for commercial exploitation—often for vicious ends? Why not co-ordinate them into an efficient division of social education? When that goal is reached, we may be ready to demand the creation of a federal bureau, perhaps even a federal department, of popular recreations.

2. Meantime before we can reap the harvest the seed must be sown. Organized and persistent effort is the price of success. The splendid foundation already laid by the Playground Association of America, backed by the college departments of physical culture must be strengthened and broadened until every city in the land shall have ample facilities for the recreation of its people as an important part of public education. To reach this end, an efficient modern scientific training in school and in college must be provided. The elaborate courses of study outlined in 1909-10 by the Committee of the Playground Association should be installed as fast as practicable. In addition, the psychology of the emotions and social psychology are of basic importance. No studies are of more practical value to the social welfare. Especially, for scientific guidance in evaluating crowd-suggestion, a textbook on the psychology of the spectator is required.

3. To unify and harmonize efforts, the problem of "play for all" versus "intercollegiate contests" must be rightly solved. The contest between regulation or entire abandonment must be fought to a finish. The consciences of educational authorities must be enlightened and quickened. Sometimes—I trust rarely—the advertising motive tips the scale in the administrative policy. What a crop of future evil deeds this sinister suggestion may bear. The academic ethics that sacrifices the common student



welfare in the expectation of bigger attendance may beget the civic ethics which calls back the saloon in the expectation of bigger trade.

4. The socialization of dramatic recreations is a hard task; but there is good reason to believe that it may be accomplished. The firm basis of the social control of the theater must be laid in the intelligent education of the dramatic instinct of the child. Here is a precious faculty sadly neglected by the teacher. Happily we are coming to appreciate its meaning in the expansion of personality. The true nature and the real value of the dramatic instinct are being revealed to us by such excellent studies as those of A. T. Craig, E. W. Curtis, and Alice M. Hertz. That this instinct may readily be educated and thus become a potent factor in mental growth is made clear by recent experiments. By "doing," suggests Miss Barney—referring to her successful experience in the dramatic training of sixth grade pupils—the child learns "to understand" as well as "to do"; for the "essentials of every process and action which the child sees in the heavens above and the earth beneath are made familiar to him in his dramatic imitations."

Especially convincing is Miss Hertz's seven years' work in the Children's Educational Theater of the Educational Alliance in New York. The intense interest shown by young boys and girls in producing such plays as Burnett's *The Little Princess* and *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, Clemens' *The Prince and the Pauper*, even Shakespeare's *Tempest* and *As You Like It*, demonstrates how very much youthful taste and mental capacity are commonly underrated. Miss Hertz has proved, urges President Eliot, "that a strong educational force, for the most part unutilized in American schools, can be exercised through the wise training of the strong dramatic instinct in children."

Decidedly, even as a form of spectator-recreation, the juvenile drama has great possibilities. It is amazing that as yet it has hardly at all been commercially exploited. Yet who can doubt that it would pay better than the penny arcade or the brain-enfeebling vaudeville?

When the dramatic taste of the mass of school children shall have been properly trained, the elevation of the theater will already

be far advanced. Furthermore, it is quite possible to educate the taste, the choice of the existing spectator-crowd. There is no contrast between the pleasing and the good. The plain people, even of the so-called "slums," enjoy real art when they can get it. The enthusiastic reception of Olcott's *Little Women*, Jerome's *Passing of the Third Floor Back*, Zangwill's noble moral drama, *The War God*, the success of Dr. Löwenfeld's "People's Theater" in Berlin, and of New York's "municipal" music, all bear witness to this truth. On the piers and in the parks of New York, testifies Arthur Farwell, high-class symphonies are preferred to "rag-time."

Even more convincing is the five years' experience of the supervisor of music in the schools of St. Louis, beginning with the seventh grade. Among the eighty thousand school children of that city says the supervisor, "there are few advanced pupils who would not much rather sing fine music than rag-time." No doubt, in like case, children would prefer something better than the hideous colored supplement of the Sunday newspaper. For example, in its Easter number the *New York Times* reproduced Abbey's great series of Holy Grail paintings. As a result, the *Times* had a call for fifty thousand copies after the edition was exhausted.

Then why not start an organized plan to increase the supply of elevating dramatic recreations? Indeed, there are distinct signs of healthful insurgency. Such is the meaning of the "drama leagues," organized in the four great cities of the country, boasting an aggregate membership of more than thirty thousand; while the Toy Theater in Boston and the Little Theater in New York are not without significance as revealing a novel craving for a worthier drama. Since the hour seems auspicious, why should not private endowment join with the municipality in providing the new education? Let the children's educational theater and the juvenile recreative drama be generously fostered. The motion-picture show, in particular, seems to have a great future. Under present conditions, it is the people's favorite theater; and morally, at least in the great cities, it is the best low-priced dramatic spectacle. Why not municipalize it as an integral part of the public-school system? Its relatively high grade in the large cities is in part due to the censorship of the films. There is need of much more

intelligent censorship and of extending such censorship to the small towns. May we not go one step farther? Why not create a national committee for the voluntary censorship of *all* classes of dramatic recreations? It might publish lists of accredited plays and spectacles.

Dare we hope that sometime the educational theater, the refined motion-picture spectacle, and the new moral drama shall replace the burlesque, the vaudeville, and the penny arcade; and that the new historical pageant shall reveal to the American people nobler emblems of patriotism, finer symbols of national glory, than the din and carnage of the existing Fourth of July celebration?

We have more wealth, more knowledge, and more leisure than had the Greeks: would that we might add the noble ideal of sane living which made possible the age of Pericles.